A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF LITURGICAL DRAMA AT ROUEN[1]

Although the liturgico-dramatic offices connected with the cathedral at Rouen during the Middle Ages have been an object of study for at least two centuries,[2] it appears that by no means all of the pertinent information has yet been brought forward, and that part of the accessible information is unreliable. The purpose of the present article is to contribute to the subject certain new texts from manuscripts, and to estimate the validity of certain texts already published.

I

The existence of the two dramatic offices contained in the first text that I offer has been generally known since 1893, when Monsieur A. Gasté called attention to them and printed extracts from one of them.[3] To the desire, repeatedly expressed,[4] for a complete

[1] It will be observed that in the texts published in this article the rubrics are printed in italics, the abbreviations of the manuscripts being expanded in Roman type. The liturgical text itself is printed in Roman type, with expansions in italics.

[2] See Bibliographical Note at the end of this article. To that bibliography one may add the following references bearing upon the liturgical peculiarities and the liturgical dramatic offices of Rouen: *Dissertation sur la légitimité des bréviaires de France en général, et du bréviaire de Rouen en particulier*, par M. —— (Paris, 1830); [L'Abbé Bourdin], *Des liturgies françaises en général et de la liturgie normande en particulier* (Paris, 1856); Langlois, *Mémoire sur les variations de la liturgie de Rouen* (Rouen, 1861); A. Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire de Rouen* (Rouen, 1902), pp. 81-151; L'Abbé Picard, in *Précis analytique des travaux de l'Académie de Rouen*, XLIX (1847), 373-82; *Revue du clergé français*, XXXIII (1902-3), 240-49; A. Collette et A. Bourdon, *Histoire de la Maîtrise de Rouen* (Rouen, 1892), pp. 18-27; [Dom Pommeraye]. *Histoire de l'église cathédrale de Rouen* (Rouen, 1686), pp. 620, 621; P. Aubry, *La musique et les musiciens d'église en Normandie au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 23-30; T. Bonnin, *Regestrum Visitationum Archiepiscopi Rothomagensis* (Rouen, 1852), pp. 44, 166, 167, 197, 384, 431, 517; *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1907), Vol. I, pp. 13-16, 31-33, 58-62, 193-98; J. Loth, *La cathédrale de Rouen* (Rouen, 1879), pp. 569-71; L. Delisle, "Un livre de chœur normano-sicilien," *Journal des savants* (1908), pp. 42-49; *Voyages liturgiques de France . . . . par le Sieur de Moléon* (Paris, 1718), p. 305; Edmund Bishop, "Holy Week Rites of Sarum, Hereford, and Rouen Compared," *Transactions of the Society of St. Osmund*, Vol. I, Part IV, pp. 77-100.

[3] A. Gasté, *Les drames liturgiques de la cathédrale de Rouen* (Évreux, 1893), pp. 33, 34, 53-56. I may mention the fact that this indispensable study exists in three forms: (1) An article, under the title given above, in *Annales de la Faculté de Lettres de Caen*, 4me Année, No. 1, pp. 1-18; No. 2, pp. 95-131; (2) An enlarged version of the same article under the same title in *Revue catholique de Normandie*, January, 1893, pp. 349-72; March, pp. 477-500; May, pp. 593-605; (3) A reprint of (2). My references throughout are to (3), the reprint.

[4] See W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana* (Berlin, 1901), p. 41; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), Vol. II, pp. 43, 48, n. 1; H. Anz, *Die lateinische Magierspiele* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 11.

text of these two dramatic offices, there has been hitherto, I believe, no response.

The manuscript under consideration bears the mark, H. 304, in the Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, Montpellier.[1] Since former descriptions of the manuscript have been incomplete, and since an indication of its exact contents is important for an understanding of the text that I present below, I offer the following information.

Montpellier MS H. 304 measures 176×256 millimeters, and contains 51 folios of substantial parchment bound in dark gray cloth. The collation may be expressed as follows:

$$\alpha^2\ a^{1+8}\ b^8\ c^{2+1+4}\ d^{4\,(4\text{ wanting})}\ e^6\ f^{10+1}\ g^{8\,(5\text{ wanting})}\ \beta^2$$

On the recto of the second fly-leaf at the beginning of the codex we read:

Joannis de Bayeux Episcopi Abrincensis ad Maurilium. Rotomagensis ecclesiae Archiepiscopum Collectio ex Sententijs s̄s̄ Patrum et consuetudinibus diuersarum ecclesiarum eorum quae ad divini cultus officia pertinent. Concilium habitum Rotomagi anno MLXXIV. Capitula Concilij apud Wintoniam celebrati. Concilium habitum apud Illebonam anno MLXXX, cuius capitula et canones inseruntur. Alitgarii Liber de octo Vitijs et eorum Remedijs. Eiusdem de Virtutibus et actuali Vita; desunt II extrema capita.

CODEX MS.
BIBLIOTHECAE BUHERIANAE
D. 71.
MDCCXXI.

The codex contains the following articles.

1. Fols. 1^r–1^v: Praeceptum de eo quod observandum est si ceciderit corpus vel sanguis Domini.
2. Fols. 2^r–22^v: Johannis de Bayeux, Abrincensis tunc episcopi, de officio ecclesiastico.[2]

[1] See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, Tome I (Paris, 1849), p. 408. From this description I adopt the titles of the articles contained in the manuscript. See also Migne's *Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique*, Vol. XL (1853), col. 592. I wish to express my gratitude to Monsieur Henri Omont, through whose kindness this manuscript was deposited for my study in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

[2] This version of the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches is somewhat more complete, at the end and elsewhere, than is the edition of 1679, *Joannis Abrincensis Episcopi deinde Rotomagensis Archiepiscopi Liber De Officiis Ecclesiasticis. Notis D. Joannis Prevotii . . . . illustratus.* Rotomagi, 1679. One passage not found in this edition but found in Montpellier MS H. 304 may be seen below, p. 4, n. 5. The MS, or MSS, used in the edition of 1679 are thus referred to on the title-page: *Primum ex codice MS. coenobii Salicosani in lucem editus, nunc ex MS. codice bibliothecae Bigotianae auctus et emendatus.* The

3. Fols. 23^r–24^r: Concilium Rothomagense (anno 1074, praeside eodem Johanne).
4. Fols. 24^r–24^v: Concilii Wintonensis canones XVI.
5. Fols. 24^v–27^r: Concilium Illebonense (anno 1080, eodem Joanne praeside).
6. Fols. 28^r–42^v (27^v is blank): Fragmentum operis de ratione divini officii (incerti auctoris).
7. Fols. 43^r–43^v: Gregorii papae epistola ad Secundinum monachum.
8. Fols. 44^r–44^v: Sermo ad monachos (incerti auctoris).
9. Fols. 45^r–51^v: Halitgarii episcopi Cameracensis de vitiis et virtutibus libri II.

The part of the codex with which we are especially concerned is No. 6: "Fragmentum operis de ratione divini officii (incerti auctoris)." The Fragment begins at the very top of folio 28^r as follows:

. . . . cantan*tur*, uel q*uo* sacrificiu*m* celebratur, duo simul n*isi* aliq*ui*s int*er*posit*us* fuerit, n*on* sedeant. Igit*ur* sacra auctoritate p*ro*hibitu*m* est ne aliq*ui*s cleric*us* post solis occasu*m* p*er* plateas *uel* uias absq*ue* necessitate *uel* testimonio bonor*um* uiror*um* p*er*gat, nulli*us*q*ue* domu*m* absq*ue* licentia decani *uel* fideli testimonio intret. Qui aut*em* istud p*re*ceptu*m* uiolauerit, trib*us* dieb*us* ab inicio matitunalis officii usq*ue* ad fine*m* co*m*pletorii ita in eccl*esi*a maneat, ut inde n*isi* causa prandendi *uel* purgandi exeat.

The Fragment ends at the very bottom of folio 42^v, in the midst of the *Officium Stellae*, as may be seen below. The several articles in the codex are written in several different hands, all of the twelfth century. The Fragment was all written by one scribe, in a hand seen nowhere else in the codex.[1]

Since the Fragment is found in a codex containing several documents explicitly connected with Normandy and with Rouen, and since Rouen was eminent during the later Middle Ages for its liturgical dramas, one is inclined to presume, provisionally, that the Fragment, with its dramatic offices, is also connected with Normandy, if not with Rouen itself. M. Gasté, however, the only

editor of this edition was Le Brun Desmarettes, who under the pseudonym, DeMoléon, published *Voyages liturgiques de France* (Paris, 1718). See *Revue du chant grégorien*, XI (1902–3), p. 191, n. 1. The edition of 1679 is reprinted by Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLVII, cols. 15–116. Since Migne reproduces accurately all the points in which I wish to refer to this work, I shall make my references to the more accessible reprint. U. Chevalier is preparing a new edition of the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*. See *Rev. du chant grég.*, *loc. cit.*, and A. Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire de Rouen* (Rouen, 1902), p. 65, n. 3.

[1] This manuscript contains no music.

writer who, so far as I know, has discussed this special point, believes that this document and the dramatic offices are "d'un auteur d'une autre province."[1] For this opinion Gasté seems to have two reasons. In the first place he quotes, probably from the Fragment,[2] the following passage, which gives preliminary directions concerning the *Officium Pastorum:*

Interim praeparentur VII juvenes, amictis et albis et tunicis induti, baculos in manibus ferentes, in similitudine pastorum.

Regarding this excerpt Gasté says, "Ce simple détail, mais caractéristique, me ferait croire que le traité incomplet *de Ratione divini officii*, qui contient les offices des Pasteurs et de l'Étoile, et qui se trouve, dans le MS. de Montpellier, à la suite du *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* de Jean d'Avranches et d'autres opuscules d'origine normande, est d'un auteur d'une autre province."[3] The writer's reasoning seems to be that since in connection with the *Officium Pastorum* contained in well-known Rouen *Ordinaria*[4] there is no rubric similar to that quoted above from the Fragment, this latter document cannot be associated with Rouen.

This argument loses all its force, I believe, before the following considerations:

1. The version of the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches contained in the Montpellier codex offers the precise rubric pointed out by Gasté as peculiar to the Fragment.

Interim preparentur vii iuuenes, amictis et albis et tunicis induti, baculos in manibus ferentes, in similitudine pastorum.[5]

[1] Gasté, p. 34.

[2] Gasté does not tell us (pp. 33, 34) from what part of the Montpellier MS he quotes, and evidently he was not aware of the fact that this precise passage occurs twice in this MS, in the Fragment (fol. 32r) and in the treatise of Jean d'Avranches (fol. 9r).

[3] Gasté, p. 34.

[4] The *Officium Pastorum* from Rouen MS Y. 110 (Ordinarium Rothomagense) is printed (with some variants from Rouen MS Y. 108) by Gasté, pp. 25–32. The text from Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213 (Ordinarium Rothomagense) is printed below.

[5] Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 9r. The MS or MSS used by Le Prévost in his edition of Jean d'Avranches did not contain this detail (see Migne, CXLVII, 41); hence Chambers (*Mediaeval Stage*, II, 43-44) inferred, from "the absence of any reference to the *Officium Pastorum* by John of Avranches," that this observance was not known at Rouen until later—later, that is, than about 1070. One may observe that the "vii iuuenes" in the rubric quoted from the Montpellier MS has a parallel in the following rubic from the *Officium Pastorum* in the Rouen Gradual (Bibl. Nat. MS 905, fol. 12r):

"Hoc audientes vii pueri stantes in alto loco dicant . . . ."

To be sure, the "vii pueri" are the angels who sing the *Gloria in excelsis*, and are not "pastores," as are the "vii iuuenes" of the Montpellier MS. Since no other Rouen *Officium*

There can be no doubt that Jean d'Avranches wrote for Rouen, or certainly, at least, for the *provincia* of Rouen.[1] The "simple détail, mais caractéristique" is, then, a mark of relationship between Rouen and the Fragment, rather than a point of divergence between them.

2. The *Officium Pastorum* of the Fragment as a whole agrees strikingly with the similar texts incontestably connected with Rouen.[2]

Gasté's other reason for refusing to associate the Fragment with Rouen is that the *Officium Stellae* in the Fragment is conspicuously different from the similar *officia* known to have been performed at Rouen.[3] This reason has force, and, in fact, the differences referred to are so important that one could hardly admit a connection with Rouen without strong positive evidence. Such evidence can, I think, be found.

In the part of the Fragment that is placed under the rubric, *De Festiuitatibus Sanctorum*,[4] we read,

> He sunt autem festiuitates que more dominicali celebrantur, excepto quod Matutinum non dicatur: Siluestri, Sebastiani, Vincentii, Agnetis, Cecilie, Agathe, Cathedre[5] Sancti Petri, Geruasii, Translationis Sancti Martini, *Wandregisili*, *Germani*, Inuentionis Sancti Stephani, Remigii, Georgii, Leodegarii, *Romani*, *Audoeni*, Lucie uirginis, et alie que placuerint; et omnium sanctorum pontificum qui huic ecclesie prefuerunt.[6]

Pastorum has a rubric like this one from Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 904, appointing "vii pueri" to sing the *Gloria in excelsis*, one might apply Gasté's reasoning and argue from "ce simple détail" that MS 904 does not come from Rouen. But it incontestably does.

[1] See below, p. 6, n. 2. Mr. Edmund Bishop characterizes the *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of John of Avranches as "Rouen ceremonial of the eleventh century" (*Transactions of the Society of St. Osmund*, Vol. I, Part IV, p. 99).

[2] The similar Rouen texts are found in Gasté, pp. 25-32, from Rouen MS Y. 110, fol. 22r-23r; in E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques au moyen âge* (Rennes, 1860), pp. 235-41, from Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 904, fol. 11v-12v; in the text below from Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213, pp. 17, 18.

[3] I refer to Rouen MS Y. 110, fol. 38v-39r, printed by Gasté, pp. 49-52; Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 904, fol. 28v-30r, printed by Coussemaker, pp. 242-49; and Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213, pp. 34, 35, printed below. The *Officium Stellae* in the Montpellier Fragment differs not only from these three Rouen texts, but also from all the other *Officia Stellae* with which I am acquainted.

[4] Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 40r.

[5] MS, cathedra.

[6] *Id.*, fol. 41r. The same passage is found also in the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 61.

This enumeration of saints at once attaches the Fragment indisputably to Rouen.[1] It has been suggested that the placing of the great Rouen saints, Romanus and Audoenus, in a list of saints of a lower order at Rouen may indicate that the writer was composing his treatise not for Rouen alone, but for the *provincia* of Rouen.[2] In any case, the document cannot be disassociated from the *use* of Rouen, and an "auteur d'une autre province" is, I think, out of the question.

TEXT FROM FRAGMENTUM OPERIS DE RATIONE DIVINI OFFICII[3]

[fol. 41r] *De Die Dominico*

Dies dominicus *ita celebr*atur. *In Sabb*ato, psalmis *diei cum* antiphonis *suis dictis*, et *cap*itulo *dicto*, responsorium *a* duobus *cler*icis *absq*ue *cappis cant*etur, quod *hymn*us *seq*uatur; et *ad Magnificat altare incenset*ur. In *Matut*inis *Inuit*atorium *a* duobus *clericis absq*ue cappis *cantetur*. Nouem lectiones et nouem responsoria *dic*antur. *Te Deum* laudamus, *excepto Aduentu* et *Quadragesima*, *dicat*ur. *Hymn*us *in Nocturnis* et *Matut*inis *Laud*ibus *dicat*ur. In *Mat*utinis *Laudib*us, exceptis *prefatis temporibus*, *una tantum* antiphona *cantet*ur. *Post Prim*am *process*io *fiat*, *ut* predict*um* est. *Off*icium *cum* duobus *cantoribus celebretur*. *Ministri* ita *induant*ur: *diaconus dalmatica*, *subdiaconus tunica*, duo *in alb*is, *qui candelabra*, et *unus qui thuribulum deferat*. *Gradale* duo *iuuenes in alb*is *canant*, et duo *cum cappis All*eluia.[4]

[1] For the *sanctorale* of Rouen see the calendars in Rouen MS Y. 110, fols. 1r–6v; Bibl. Nat. MSS lats. 1266 A., fols. 133–38, and 1213, fols. C–G; A. Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire de Rouen* (Rouen, 1902), pp. 153–94; H. Loriquet, J. Pothier, and A. Collette, *Le graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au xiii*e *siècle* (Rouen, 1907), Vol. I, pp. 6–11. 123–40; Vol. II, Introduction. For the identification of the saints in the list quoted above see *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, ediderunt Socii Bollandiani* (Bruxellis, 1898–99); H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Bd. II, Abtheilung II, pp. 55 ff. See also Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Ratisbonae, 1873), pp. 613–15. On the same list of saints in the treatise of Jean d'Avranches see Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, col. 116. See also L. Delisle, *Journal des savants* (1908), p. 44.

[2] See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, col. 116, where the comment on the precisely similar list of saints in the treatise of Jean d'Avranches applies equally well to the list in the Fragment. The list of saints in the treatise of Jean d'Avranches of course attaches that work also to the *provincia* of Rouen, an attachment that is inevitable from Jean's eminent association with that *provincia*. A discussion of the fact that the author of the Fragment seems to have borrowed many considerable passages from the treatise of Jean d'Avranches is no part of my present study. A discussion of these relations will probably form part of Chevalier's forthcoming edition of the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*.

[3] Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 41r–4 .v.

[4] This paragraph, which has, obviously, no essential connection with the dramatic offices, I present merely in order to make clear the exact position of the dramatic offices in the Fragment, and to show that in this paragraph (as in many others) the Fragment agrees exactly with the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches (see Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 61, 62).

Quia[1] *ecclesiastica officia diuersi diuerse celebrant, quedam que communi ordine omisimus inserere, hoc in loco congruum nobis uidetur annotare.*[2]

[OFFICIUM PASTORUM]

In Natiuitate Domini, finito Te Deum laudamus, pueri in uno loco ecclesie baculis se sustentantes in similitudine Pastorum consistant. Unus autem puer in excelso, amictu et alba indutus, in similitudine Angeli Natiuitatem Domini annuntiantis, hunc uersum dicens:

Nolite timere, ecce enim euangelizo uobis gaudium magnum, quod erit omni populo, quia natus est uobis hodie saluator mundi in ciuitate Dauid, et hoc uobis signum: Inuenietis infantem pannis inuolutum et positum in presepio.

Sint item plures pueri dextra et sinistra parte similiter induti, qui, finita prefata antiphona, incipiant cantando: Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bone uoluntatis, alleluia, alleluia.

Hoc iterum finito, Pastores, subsequentem antiphonam cantantes, ad locum in quo paratum fuit Presepe accedant: Transeamus usque Bethleem et uideamus hoc verbum quod factum est quod fecit Dominus et ostendit nobis.

Quem dum intrauerint, duo clerici qui [fol. 41v] *ad presepe fuerint incipiant cantare:* Quem queritis in presepe, pastores, dicite?

Pastores respondebunt: Saluatorem Xpistum Dominum infantem, pannis inuolutum, secundum sermonem angelicum.

Ad Presepe stantes iterum dicant: Adest hic paruulus cum Maria matre sua, de quo dudum uaticinando Ysaias dixerat propheta: Ecce uirgo concipiet et pariet filium et nomen eius Emmanuel dicetur.

Pastores: Natus est nobis hodie saluator qui est Xpistuc Dominus in ciuitate Dauid.

Te Deum laudamus.

Quo finito, idem Pastores incipiant Introitum: Dominus dixit ad me, *et regant chorum ad omnem Missam. Finita Missa, incipiat*

[1] At this point in his treatise Jean d'Avranches proceeds to symbolistic generalizations upon what has preceded. It is in the comparative absence of symbolism that the Fragment differs most essentially from the treatise of Jean d'Avranches. Since the Fragment agrees with the *Liber* of Jean not only in many details but also in general scope, and since at the point where the dramatic offices are added in the Fragment Jean is practically at the end of his treatise, I infer that very little is lost at the end of the Fragment—probably only the end of the *Officium Stellae*, and, since such is mentioned in the body of the Fragment (fol. 37v), an *Officium Sepulchri*.

[2] The *Officium Pastorum*, *Officium Stellae*, and *Officium Sepulchri* are mentioned in the body of the Fragment in connection with Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter respectively as follows: ". . . . Te Deum laudamus alta uoce incipiat. Interim preparentur vii iuuenes amictis et albis et tunicis induti, baculos in manibus ferentes in similitudine pastorum, qui, finito *Presepis Officio*, in prima Missa usque ad finem Matutinorum regent chorum" (Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 32r); ". . . . Te Deum laudamus incipiat. Deinde *Stelle Officium* sequatur" (*id.*, fol. 33r); ". . . . Post tercium responsorium *Officium Sepulchri* celebretur" (*id.*, fol. 37v).

Presul uersum: Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini. *Deinde*, Deus in adiutorium, *cum* Gloria Patri, *et* Alleluia. *Postea incipiat cantor antiphonam*: Quem uidistis, *usque*, Quis apparuit, et *Pastores dicant:* Natum uidimus, *usque in finem*. *Postea incipiant Pastores:* Dominus regnauit, et *ad finem regendo chorum ipsi Matutinas perducant. Finita collecta Matutinarum, cantetur antiphona*: Ecce completa sunt omnia, *cum subsequenti collecta*: Deus qui salutis eterne.

[OFFICIUM STELLAE]

Officium Stelle ita celebretur. Ubi Stella apparebit, dicat Rex stans post altare maius: Stella fulgore nimio rutilat.

Alter, aliunde ueniens ex dextera parte, dicat: Que regem regum natum monstrat.

Tercius a sinistra ueniens dicat: Quem uenturum olim prophetia signauerat.

Regi a dextera uenienti dicat Rex medius: Pax tibi, frater.

Cui respondeat idem cum alio a sinistra ueniente: Pax quoque tibi, *sese osculando. Quo finito, chorus cantet antiphonam*: Hec primum orientales fines collustrans illarum colonis partium magne rei prebuit signum hec illos tres magos insignes prudentie capaces ad adorandum regem natum perduxit dicentes:

Et interim Reges, alter alteri ostendendo Stellam baculis innuentes erectis dicat medius: Ecce stella!

Alter in dextera dicat: Et ecce stella.

Tercius in sinistra dicat: Et ecce urrit stella!

Quo finito, dicant Reges: Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum, offerentes ei munera, aurum,[1] thus, *et* myrram.

Herodi in throno suo residenti dicat Internuntius: Salue, rex Iudeorum.

Huic Rex econtra: Salue[t] te gratia mea.

Item Internuntius: Assunt nobis, Domine Rex, uiri ignoti ab oriente uenientes nouiter natum quendam regem queritantes.

Rex econtra:

Anteuenire iube quo possim singula scire,
Qui sint, cur ueniant, quo nos rumore requirant.

Item Internuntius: Quod mandas citius, Rex, milite perficietur.

Quo peracto, Internuntius rediens ad Magos dicat: Que sit causa uie? Qui uos, uel unde uenitis, dicite.

Cui Magi: [fol. 42r]

Rex est causa uie; reges sumus ex Arabitis, huc uenientes;
Querimus hic regem regnantibus imperitantem,
Quem natum mundo lactat Iudaica uirgo.

Internuntius Herodi: Reges sunt, ut dicunt, ex Arabitis, regem regum regnantibus imperitantem queritantes.

[1] MS, durum.

Rex Internuntio: Ad nos uocentur, ut eorum a nobis sermones audiantur.

Internuntius Magis: Regia uos mandata uocant; non segniter ite.

Internuntius precedens reges Herodi nuntiat, baculo innuendo:

En magi ueniunt,
et regem regum natum stella duce requirunt.
Portant insonti sua munera cuncta regenti.

Quo finito, medius Rex Herodi dicat:

Salue, rex populi fortis, dominator et orbis,
Quid uis edissere nobis?

Quem osculetur Herodes, faciendo eum sedere in dextera parte sui. Alter in dextera Herodi dicat: Ase ai ase elo allo abadac crazai nubera satai loamedech amos ebraisim loasetiedet inbedo addoro otiso bedoranso i et o iomo bello o illa et cum marmoysen aharon et cum cizarene rauidete qui adonay moy.

Hunc osculando iubeat Herodes sedere iuxta priorem. Tertius in sinistra Herodi dicat: O some tholica lama ha osome tholica lama ma chenapi ha thomena.

De quo Herodes faciat ut de prioribus, quibus Herodes dicat: Regem quem queritis natum esse quo signo didicistis?

Magi econtra: Illum natum esse didicimus in oriente stella monstrante.

Hic ostendant Magi stellam baculis, quibus Rex: Si illum regnare creditis, dicite nobis.

Item Magi: Illum regnare fatentes cum misticis muneribus de terra longinqua adorare uenimus, trinum Deum uenerantes tribus cum muneribus.

Primus Rex erigens se a sede genuflexo ante Herodem dicat: Auro regem.

Secundus similiter dicat: Thure sacerdotem.

Tercius similiter dicat: Myrra mortalem.

Herodes Epistolariis: Huc, simiste mei, disertos pagina scribas prophetica ad me uocate.

Quo finito, Epistolarii uenientes ad scribas dicant: Vos legis periti a rege uocati, cum prophetarum libris properando uenite.

Scribe cum Epistolariis uenientes dicant Herodi: Dissere, Rex, quid uis, assumus ecce tibi.

Quibus Rex: O uos scribe, interrogati dicite si quid de hoc puero scriptum uideretis in libro.

Huic Scribe: Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum lineis nasci Xpistum in Bethleem, ciuitate Dauid, propheta sic uaticinante.

Quo finito chorus dicat: Betleem, non es minima,
usque in finem.[1] *Quo audito, Herodes prospiciens in libro prophetie*

[1] In the MS a black line is drawn through the words, "usque in finem," perhaps by a later hand.

iratus proiciat. Deinde dicat Magis: Ite, *et* de puero diligen*ter* inuestigate, *et* inuento, redeuntes m*ihi* renuntiate ut *et* ego [fol. 42v] ueniens adore*m* eu*m*.

Qui redeuntes ab Herode insinuando sibi inter se preuisam stellam dicant: Ecce stella in oriente p*r*euisa iteru*m* p*r*ecedit nos lucida.

Qui gradientes uersus presepe interrogent Pastores obuiam factos: Pastores, dicite q*ui*dna*m* uidistis *et* annunciate X*ρisti* natiuitat*em*.

Quibus Pastores respondeant: Infante*m* uidim*us* pannis inuolutu*m* *et* choros angelor*um* laudantes saluatorem.

Quo audito Magi inde transeuntes cantent:

Que*m* n*on* p*r*eualent p*r*op*ri*a magnitudine
Celi t*er*re atq*ue* maria anphisepere,
De uirgineo nat*us* utero ponit*ur* in p*r*esepio.
Sermo cecinit que*m* uatidic*us* stant simul bos *et* asin*us*.
Sed orit*ur* stella lucida p*r*ebitura d*omi*no obseq*ui*a.
Que*m* Balaam ex Iudaica oritur*um* dixerat p*r*osapia.
Hec n*ost*ror*um* oculos fulguranti lumine p*er*strinxit p*r*ouidos.
Atq*ue* ipsos p*r*euia ducens ad cunabula p*er*dux*it* uilia.

His peruenientibus ad Presepe dicant Obstetrices:

Qui sunt hii q*ui*, stella duce, nos adeuntes inaudita ferunt?

Magi econtra: Nos sum*us*, q*uo*s cernitis, reges Tharsis *et* Arabu*m* *et* Saba, dona ferentes X*ρisto* regi nato D*omi*no, que*m*, stella deducente, adorare uenimus.

Item Obstetrices aperiendo Presepe dicant: Ecce puer adest que*m* queritis. Ia*m* p*r*op*er*ate, adorate, q*ui*a ipse e*st* rede*m*ptio mundi.

Quo uiso, primus Magus aurum offerendo in terram prostratus dicat: Salue, Rex, s*e*c*u*lor*um*, cui*us* ad imp*eriu*m uniuersa pauescunt, suscipe n*un*c auru*m*, regis signu*m*.

Secundus thus offerendo subinfera[t]: Domine, Rex et*er*ne gl*ori*e suscip*er*e dignare thus sic*ut* De*us* uer*us*.

Tercius mirram offerendo dicat:

Puer iacens in p*r*esepe,
Tam*en* imp*er*ans ubiq*ue*,
Suscipe mirra*m* signu*m* sepulture.

His adorantibus puer quasi Angelus desuper stans cantet: Impleta s*un*t omnia que p*r*ophetice dicta s*un*t; ite, uia*m* remeantes alia*m*, nec delatores tanti reges puniendi eritis.

Quo expleto, Magi aliunde redeuntes cantent: O magnu*m* misteriu*m*, *usque in finem. Illis redeuntibus Internuntius dicat Herodi:* Delusus es, D*omi*ne, magi uia*m* redier*unt* aliam.

Qua peracta, Filius Herodis ad patrem: Salue, pat*er* inclite, salue, rex egregie, q*ui* ubiq*ue* imp*er*ans sceptra tenens regia.

Cui Herodes: Fili amantissime, digne laudis munere, laudis pompa*m*

regie tuo gerens nomine, rex est nat*us* fortior nob*is*, *et* potentior uereor ne nos exturb*et* n*ost*ri[1] regni solio.

Item Filius patri:

Contr*a* natu*m* pueru*m*, *contra* illu*m* regulu*m*,
Iube, pat*er*, maximu*m* *im*minere p*re*miu*m*.

Hac peracta, Duces tenentes nudatos gladios dicant Herodi: Decerne, D*omi*ne, uindicari ira*m* tua*m*, iube occidi pueros, forte int*er* occisos occidet*ur et* puer.

Herodes acceptum gladium librans hac et illac reddat hac quo sumpsit . . . .[2]

II

In previous seaches among the liturgical documents at Rouen for liturgico-dramatic texts, one manuscript of importance for our subject seems to have been entirely overlooked. I refer to MS 222 (*olim*, 551) in the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Rouen, of which we have the following official description:

> Processionale ad usum S. Audoeni Rothomagensis. XIIIe siècle. Parchemin. 92 feuillet. 172 sur 110 millim. Rel. mod. (Saint-Ouen de Rouen.—Ancien n°. A. 345).[3]

The assignment of the manuscript to the use of the monastic church of St. Ouen at Rouen may rest upon the inscription, in a cursive hand of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, at the top of the first folio, "Ex lib. S. Audoeni Rotg. Congreg. S. Mauri." I can find no other authority for this assignment, which, in any case, I believe to be wrong. The frequent occurrence of the word, *archiepiscopus*, throughout the rubrics[4] seems to me clearly to indicate that the manuscript was written for use in the Cathedral of Rouen, with the usages of which, both processional and dramatic, it agrees throughout.

Of dramatic offices the manuscript contains only the *Officium Stellae* (fragmentary) and the *Officium Peregrinorum*.[5] Since the manuscript has suffered considerable laceration and loss of

[1] MS, nr̄is.

[2] Here ends the page and the Fragment.

[3] *Catalogue général des manuscripts des bibliothèques de France*, Tome I (Paris, 1866), p. 44.

[4] Cf. fols. 8^{r}, 15^{v}, 18^{v}, 21^{r}, 27^{v}, 40^{v}, 41^{v}. I find nothing at all in the rubrics to suggest monastic usage.

[5] These two dramatic offices are provided with music, in square notation on four red lines.

leaves,[1] one is tempted to suppose that it may once have contained others of the dramatic offices characteristic of Rouen;[2] but for this I can offer no positive evidence.

[OFFICIUM STELLAE][3]

[fol. 4r] . . . . *[pue]rum, ita dicentes:* Salue, Princeps seculorum.

Tunc primus accipiens aurum a ministro suo offerat et *dicat:* Su[s]-cipe, Rex, aurum.

Secundus offerens thus ita dicat: Tolle thus, tu uere Deus.

Tercius offerat mirram, et *dicat:* Mirram, signum sepulture.

Orantibus Magis et *quasi sopitis*[4] *quidam puer, alba* et *amictu indutus quasi angelus, ante altare illis dicat hanc antiphonam:* Impleta sunt omnia que prophetice dicta sunt. Ite, uiam redeuntes aliam, ne delatores tanti regis puniendi eritis.

Finita antiphona, cantor incipiat hoc responsorium, et *intret processio chorum,* et *fiat oblatio a clero* et *populo:* Tria sunt munera preciosa que obtulerunt Magi Domino in die ista, et habent in se diuina misteria, in aurum ut [fol. 4v] ostendatur Regis potencia, in thure sacerdotem magnum considera, et in mirra dominicam sepulturam. *V*ersus: Salutis nostre auctorem Magi uenerati sunt in cunabulis, et de thesauris suis misticas ei munerum species obtulerunt. In aurum.

Sequatur Missa, ad quam tres Reges regant chorum, qui cantent Kyrie fons, Alleluia, *V*ersum: Vidimus, Sanctus, et Agnus festiue.[5]

[OFFICIUM PEREGRINORUM][6]

[fol. 43r] *Fe*ria secunda[7] *in Matutinis, processio ut in die Pasche. In Vesperis similiter, excepto quod duo tantum de maiori sede regant chorum,* et *duo similiter de maiori sede cantent* Alleluia, Redemptionem. *Ad Vesperas post* tres *psalmos, finita* antiphona, *duo de secunda sede cantent hoc* responsorium: Hec dies. *V*ersus: Dicant nunc Israhel, quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum | [fol. 43v] misericordia eius. *Duo regentes chorum*: Alleluya. *V*ersus: Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis, de Ihesu dum loqueretur nobis in uia? *V*ersus: Resurrexit *Dominus*. Antiphona: Et coegerunt illum dicentes, mane nobiscum quia asuesperascit, alleluya. *P*salmus: Magni*ficat.*

1 The loss of leaves in the extant gatherings will appear in the following collation: a^{2+1} (3 wanting) b^6 c^{16} (7, 10, 14, 15, 16 wanting) d^8 e^4 f^8 g^6 h^4 i^{10} j^2 k^{12} l^{14}.

2 See Bibliographical Note at the end of this article.

3 Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 222 (*olim*, A. 551), fols. 4r–4v. Fol. 3, which certainly contained the first part of this dramatic office, is torn out.

4 Between *quasi* and *sopitis* the MS has a blank space sufficient for receiving such a word as *sompno* (see the other texts of the Rouen *Officium Stellae*), no sign of which appears. In the blank space a hand of a century later has inserted the word *in*.

5 The rubric, *Dominica infra Octauam*, follows immediately.

6 Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 222 (*olim*, A. 551), fols. 43r–45r.

7 Easter Monday.

Post Benedicamus fiat Processio ad Fontes, ut in die Pasche, et pro-cessione *stante in medio nauis ecclesie* et *cantante psalmum*: In exitu, *circa finem psalmi duo clerici de* secunda *sede induti tunicis* et *desuper capis in transuersum portantes baculos* et *peras in similitudinem Pere-grinorum intrent ecclesiam per dextram portam occidentalem* et *lento pede uenientes usque ad processionem. Cum finitus fuerit psalmus, subsistentes in capite processionis incipiant cantare hymnum:* Ihesu, nostra redemptio, et *cum cantauerint usque ad locum illum,* Nos tuo uultu sa[ties], *tunc quidam sacerdos indutus alba* et *amictu, nudus pedes crucem ferens in manibus intret ecclesiam per sinistram portam occi-dentalem* et *ueniens usque ad eos uultu demisso subito stet inter illos et dicat:* [fol. 44r].

Qui sunt hii sermones quos confertis ad inuicem ambulantes, et estis tristes.

Peregrini quasi admirantes et *eum respicientes dicant:* Tu solus peregrinus es in Iherusalem, et non cognouisti que facta sunt in illa hiis diebus?

Sacerdos interroget: Que?

Peregrini respondeant: De Ihesu Nazareno, qui fuit uir propheta, potens in opere et sermone coram Deo et omni populo.

Sacerdos utrimque respiciens dicat: O stulti et tardi[1] corde ad cre-dendum in omnibus que locuti sunt prophete! Nonne sic oportuit pati Xpistum et ita intrare in gloriam [fol. 44v] suam?

Quibus dictis, statim recedat sacerdos fingens se longius ire, et *Peregrini festinanter prosequentes eum detineant quasi ad hospicium inuitantes* et *trahentes baculum ostendentes Castellum,* et *dicentes:* Mane nobiscum quoniam aduesperascit, *et* inclinata est iam dies. Sol uergens ad occasum suadet ut nostrum uelis hospicium, placent enim sermones tui quos refers de resurrectione magistri nostri.

Et ita cantantes ducant eum usque ad tabernaculum in medio nauis ecclesie in similitudinem Castelli Emaus preparatum. Quo cum ascen-derint et *ad mensam ibi paratam sederint* et *Dominus inter eos sedens panem eis fregerit, in fractione panis agnitus ab illis subito recedens ab occulis eorum euanescat. Illi autem quasi stupefacti surgentes can-tent uersus processionales*: Alleluia, *cum Versu*: Nonne cor nostrum. *Quo reiterato uertant se uersus pulpitum et cantent hunc uersum sequen-ter:* Dic nobis, Maria, quid uidisti in uia?

Tunc quidam de maiori sede indutus dalmatica et *amictu* et *uinctus in modum mulieris caput circumligatus respondeat*: Angelicos testes, suda [fol. 45r] rium et uestes.

Tun[c] ostendat et explicet unum syndonem ex una parte loco sua-darii, et *alium ex altera parte loco uestium, deinde dicat:* Surrexit Xpistus, spes nostra; precedet uos in Galileam.

[1] MS, tradi.

Chorus cantet alios duos uersus *sequentes residuos*, et *interim recedant Maria* et *Peregrini*, et processio, *factis memo*riis, *redeat in choro*, et *ibi finiantur Vespere*.[1]

III

The third manuscript—Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213—from which I offer a series of texts is readily accessible and has been frequently referred to. In view of these frequent references and of the interest in the dramatic offices of Rouen, it is surprising that the pertinent parts of this manuscript have never been printed in full. The absence of complete printed texts from this manuscript is, perhaps, partly due to the fact that they follow rather closely similar Rouen texts already printed, but more probably to the fact that through erroneous statements and misleading references many have been led to believe that the pertinent texts are already in print.[2] On account of these misunderstandings and of the need of more accurate texts from Rouen, I venture to offer the following series of complete texts.

[OFFICIUM PASTORUM][3]

[P. 17] . . . . *Hodie*[4] *lectio* nona *Euangelium*: In principio erat uerbum. *R*esponsorium: V*er*bum caro. *Versus*: In *principio*. Plen*um*. Gl*oria*, et *cetera*. *Omnes* presb*yteri in* super*lici*is *sint in modum corone*

[1] The rubric, *Feria tertia*, follows immediately.

[2] See Bibliographical Note at the end of this article. The incidental remarks of E. Du Méril (*Les origines latines du théâtre moderne* [Paris, 1897], pp. 96, n. 1 and 147, n. 2) regarding this MS are entirely correct. Gasté (p. 4, n. 2) in his supposition, "Nous pensons que c'est là [*i. e.*, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213] un des MSS consultés par dom Jean Le Prévost . . . . pour les variantes qu'il a mises en manchettes," is, I think, in error. H. Anz (*Die lateinischen Magierspiele* [Leipzig, 1905], p. 9) did no harm in ignoring this MS. P. Aubry (*La musique et les musiciens d'église en Normandie au XIIIe siècle* [Paris, 1906], p. 27, n.1) writes. "Le texte en [i. e., of the Rouen *Festum Asinorum*] a été publié par Du Cange dans le *Glossarium* à l'article *Festum Asinorum*, d'après un Ordinaire de l'église de Rouen du xve siècle, aujourd'hui à Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1213, p. 24." As a matter of fact, the *Festum Asinorum* is found neither on the page indicated nor anywhere else in this MS. The same writer seems to imply (p. 29, n. 1) that the dramatic offices presented by Le Prévost (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 135–42) are taken from this same MS. This implication cannot, I think, be substantiated. A further discussion of these relations is presented in the Bibliographical Note below.

[3] B. N. MS lat. 1213, pp. 17, 18. For brief descriptions of this MS and for an indication of its history see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Tom. III (Parisiis, 1744), p. 96, col. 1; L. Delisle, *Bibliotheca Bigotiana Manuscripta* (Rouen, 1887), p. 67; Gasté, p. 4, n. 2. The MS is of paper, measures 195×140 millimeters, and is bound in yellow leather. It contains A-H folios + 283 pages, folios A r–v, B r–v, and p. 284 being blank. It is written in a small cursive script of the fifteenth century. The MS contains no music. Its having been in use at Rouen is frequently stated in the text itself. Cf., for example, pp. 1, 5, 17, and 34.

[4] Christmas.

in medio chori, et cantent prosam, et incipiatur sic: Que[m] ethera et terra, et chorus respondeat neuma. Finita prosa, quidam sacerdos reuestitus omnibus indumentis sacerdotalibus, cum ipso subdiaconus tunica reuestitus cantet ante altare Euangelium: Liber generacionis. Finito Euangelio, Dominus Archiepiscopus aut decanus uel alius de maioribus de dextro choro incipiat ante altare cum candelabro et turibulo: Te Deum laudamus.

Finito Te Deum laudamus, peragatur Officium Pastorum hoc modo, secundum usum Rothomagensem. Presepe sit paratum retro altare, et ymago Sancte Marie sit in eo posita. In primis quidam puer ante chorum in excelso in similitudinem angeli Natiuitatem[1] Domini nuncians ad quinque canonicos quindecim marcharum et librarum, uel ad eos uicarios de secunda sede, Pastores intrantes per magnum [p. 18] ostium chori per medium chorum transeuntes, tunicis et amictibus [indutos], hunc uersum ita dicens: Nolite timere, usque, In presepio. Sint plures pueri in uoltis ecclesie quasi Angeli, qui alta uoce incipiant: Gloria in excelsis Deo, et cantent usque, Voluntatis. Hoc audientes Pastores ad locum in quo paratum est Presepe accedant cantantes[2] hunc uersum: Pax in terris, totum. Quod dum intrauerint, duo presbyteri dalmaticati quasi Obstetrices, qui ad presepe fuerint dicant: Quem queritis, usque, Dicite. Pastores respondeant: Saluatorem Xpistum, usque, Angelicum. Item Obstetrices cortinam aperientes puerum demonstrent dicentes: Adest hic paruulus, usque, Ysaias dixerat propheta. Hic ostendant matrem pueri dicentes: Salue uirgo singularis, usque, Frui natus uisione. Deinde uertant se ad chorum redeuntes et dicentes: Alleluia, alleluia, iam uere scimus, usque, Cum propheta dicentes.[3]

Hoc finito, incipiatur Missa, et Pastores regant chorum. Dominus Archiepiscopus, si presens fuerit, cantet[4] Missam, aut decanus. Officium: Dominus dixit ad me. Psalmus: Quare fre[muerunt]. Kyrieleyson, Rex genitor. Gloria in excelsis. Pastores cantent prosam: Que[m] ciues celici, et cum uenerint ad locum ubi dicitur, Suscipe[5] deprecationem nostram, omnes flectant genua uersus altare. Oratio: Deus qui nos sacratissimam. De beata Maria Oratio: Deus qui salutis. Quidam de Pastoribus cantet in pulpito lectionem: Populus gentium. Sine interuallo subdiaconus legat epistolam: Apparuit gratia Dei saluatoris. Duo Pastores de secunda sede Graduale: Tecum principium. Versus: Dixit Dominus. Reiteretur Graduale: Tecum principium. Duo de maiori sede: Alleluia, Dominus dixit ad me. Sequentia: Nato canunt omnia. Euangelium: Exiit editum. Credo. Offertorium: Letentur celi. Offerant[6] omnes qui uoluerint. Secreta: Accepta tibi sit, Domine. Alia Secreta: Muneribus nostris. Prefatio: Quia per incarnati. Hec

[1] MS, natiuitatis.
[2] MS, cantores.
[3] MS, ducentes.
[4] MS, cantent.
[5] MS, Suscepe.
[6] MS, offerenda.

prescripta Prefatio dicatur omnibus festiuis diebus usque ad Purificationem, excepto die Epyphanie Domini, cum eius octauis. Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam dicatur. Sanctus et Agnus festiue. Communio: In splendoribus. Post-Communio: Da nobis, quesumus, Domine Deus noster. Alia Post-Communio: Hec nos communio. Ite missa est.

Finita Missa, Dominus archiepiscopus, uel alius dicat Versum: Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini. Versum: Deus Dominus, et cetera. Alleluia. Deus in adiutorium. Gloria patri. Sicut erat, et cetera. Alleluia. Archiepiscopus uel alius uersus ad Pastores dicat: Quem uidistis, pastores, dicite; annunciate nobis in terris qui[s] apparuit. Pastores respondeant: Natum uidimus, et cetera, et totam antiphonam finiant. Dehinc incipiat quidam Pastor a dextra parte psalmum: Dominus regnauit. Antiphona: Quem uidistis. Pastores alias antiphonas incipiant, unusquisque suam secundum ordinem, et omnes cum neumis finiantur, et Pastores regant chorum. Antiphona: Genuit puerpera. Psalmus: Iubilate. Antiphona: Angelus ad pa[stores]. Psalmus: Deus, Deus. Antiphona: Facta est. Psalmus: Benedicite. Antiphona: Paruulus filius. Psalmus: Laudate. Capitulum: Populus gentium. Ymnus: [p. 19] A solis ortus cardine. Versus: Viderunt omnes fines. Antiphona sicut in Vesperis[1] ter repetatur: Gloria in excelsis Deo. Psalmus: Benedictus. Oratio: Concede quesumus omnipotens Deus. Benedicamus cantetur a Pastoribus: Verbum patris hodie. Quo finito, Pastores cantent hanc antiphonam totam in pulpito: Ecce completa. Archiepiscopus uel sacerdos dicat uersum: Post partum. Oratio: Deus qui salutis. Benedicamus, tres pueri.[2]

[FESTUM INFANTUM][3]

[p. 24] . . . . Ad Vesperas duo presbyteri regant chorum. Antiphone cum neumis finiantur. Antiphona: Tecum principium. Psalmus: Dixit Dominus, et cetera. Capitulum: Iocunditatem. Responsorium: In medio ecclesie. Omnes presbyteri, ut prenotatur in fe[sto] Sancti Stephani, Ymnus: Bina celestis, uel Letabundus. Versus: In [omnem terram].[4] Antiphona: In medio ecclesie. Psalmus: Magnificat. Oratio: Ecclesiam tuam. Benedicamus ad placitum presbyterorum. Sequantur

[1] MS, ūis. This same abbreviation, in the same context, is found in Rouen MS Y. 110, fol. 23r, from which Gasté (p. 31) expands it to *voltis*. I expand into *uesperis* in accordance with the following rubric concerning the Antiphon of the *Magnificat* in First Vespers of Christmas (B. N. MS lat. 1213, p. 16): "Antiphona cum trina repetitione." which explains precisely the rubric, "Antiphona sicut in Vesperis ter repetatur," in the case before us. Gasté did not consider the similar rubric in First Vespers in Rouen MS Y 110, fol. 21r, "Antiphona cum trina repeticione."

[2] The words, Sequatur Missa de Luce, follow immediately.

[3] B. N. MS lat. 1213, pp. 24–27.

[4] The MS seems to have In az̄, which I cannot explain in this place.

Memorie Natiuitatis et *Sancti Stephani tantum.* *Antiphona*: Pastores. *Versus*: Verbum caro. *Oratio*: Concede, *quesumus*, *omnipotens* Deus. *Antiphona*: Constitutus. *Versus*: Gloria *et* ho[nore]. *Oratio*: *Omnipotens sempiterne* Deus. *Sequatur Processio*: Sancta *et immaculata*, *et sint presbyteri in superiore parte processionis*, *ut* supra *notatur in die Sancti Stephani.* *Hoc finito, duo pueri tunicis* et *amictibus induti*, *tenentes candelabra cum cereis ardentibus*, *et* omnes *pueri ecclesie in cappis tenentes cereos ardentes cum suo Episcopo exeant de uestiario bini* et *bini cantantes responsorium*: Centum quadraginta; *et*, *processione ordinata*, *ueniant per chorum* et *eant ad altare Innocentium*, et *ibi stationem faciant*, et *finiatur ibi;* et *tres pueri cantent*: Hi empti sunt. *Quo finito*, *sequatur antiphona*: Innocentes. *Tres pueri uersum*: Letamini. *Episcopus orationem*: Deus *hodierna* die. *In reditu antiphona uel responsorium* [p. 25] *de* Sancta *Maria ad placitum.* *Duo presbyteri cantent uersum*: Post partum. *Episcopus orationem*: Deus qui salutis. *Pueri dicant*: Benedicamus. *Sequatur Benedictio Episcopi*, et *dicat unus puer alta uoce*: Humiliate uos ad benedictionem, *et alii respondeant*: Deo gratias. *Benedictio*: *Dominus omnipotens* benedicat uos, et cetera.

Ad Completorium *Antiphona*: Natus *est* nobis. *Psalmus*: Cum inuocarem, et cetera, *sicut prenotatur in* Completorio *diaconorum*.

Nota, *Frater*. *In crastino est Fe*[*stum*] *Duplex*. *Inuitatorium Dominus Episcopus*, *cum eo duo pueri*: Venite adoremus. *Psalmus*: Venite. *Ymnus*: *Sanctorum* meritis. *In primo Nocturno*, *Antiphona*: Herodes uidens. *Psalmus*: Beatus uir. *Antiphona*: X*ρistus* infans. *Psalmus*: Quare fre[muerunt]. *Antiphona*: Arridebat. *Psalmus*: In Domino confido. *Versus*: Letamine. *Et legantur* sex *lectiones de Sermone*: Zelus *quo* tendat, *et* tres *lectiones de Expositione*, *in cantu*, *ut* supra, a quodam *diacono*. *Dominus Episcopus legat* nonam *lectionem*. *Expositio*: Angelus *Domini* apparuit. *Responsorium*: Sub altare. *Versus*: Vidi sub altare. Quare. *Responsorium*: Effuderunt sanguinem. *Versus*: Vindica, Domine. In circuitu. *Responsorium*: Dignus a dignis. *Versus*: Accipiunt a X*ρisto*. Et innocens. Gloria. *In* secundo *Nocturno*, *Antiphona*: Norunt infantes *Psalmus*: Domine, quis habitabit. *Antiphona*: Erigitur itaque. *Psalmus*: Conserua. *Antiphona*: Dignus a dignis. *Psalmus*: Domini est terra. *Versus*: Exultent iusti. *Responsorium*: Sub throno. *Versus*: Sub altare Dei. Vindica. *Responsorium*: Adorauerunt. *Versus*: Venientes autem. Mittentes. *Responsorium Dominus Episcopus*, *duo tunicati cum eo*: Norunt infantes. *Versus*: Licuit sanguinem. Fiunt. Gloria, et cetera. *In* tertio *Nocturno*, *Antiphona*: Dicunt infantes. *Psalmus*: Exultate iusti. *Antiphona*: Licuit sanguinem. *Psalmus*: Benedicam. *Antiphona*: Vindica, Domine. *Psalmus*: Deus, uenerunt. *Versus*: Iusti autem in

perpetuum. Responsorium: Cantabant sancti. Versus: Sub throno. Et resona. Responsorium: Ambulabunt. Versus: Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus. Et non de[lebo]. Responsorium: Centum quadraginta. Versus: Hi empti. Hec responsoria dicantur in octaua, et fiant tercia responsoria: Isti sunt. Versus: Vindica. Quia. Responsorium: Isti sunt sancti. Versus: Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus. Ambulabunt.

Nota. Dum nona lectio legetur, pergant pueri ad uestiarium. Qua finita, exeant bini et bini cum cereis ardentibus cantantes responsorium: Centum quadraginta. Tres pueri cantent uersum et prosam; ante altare in modum corone illud finiant. Quo finito, incipiatur: Te Deum laudamus.

Quo finito, incipiantur ibi Laudes, et redeant ad chorum, et ibi in medio chori finiantur Matutine. Antiphona in Laudibus: Herodes iratus. Psalmus: Dominus regnauit. Antiphona: A bymatu et infra. Psalmus: Iubilate. Antiphona: Vox in rama. Psalmus: Deus, Deus. Antiphona: Sub throno. Psalmus: Benedicite. Tres pueri incipiunt in pulpito: Laudes reddant pueri. Psalmus: Laudate Dominum. Antiphona: Laudes reddant. Versus: Laudate eum. Antiphona: Laudes reddant, et sic chorus psalmum finiant. Pueri ad unumquemque uersum dicant: Laudes reddant. Capitulum: Vidi supra montem. Ymnus: Rex gloriose martyrum. Versus: Mirabilis. Antiphona: Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus. Psalmus: Benedictus. Oratio: Deus, cuius hodierna. Benedicamus, ad placitum puerorum. Sequatur Memoria Natiuitatis. Antiphona: Gaudeamus, ut supra. Versus: Iustus qui. Oratio: Omnipotens sempiterne Deus. Nota. In die Innocentium ad Matutinas incipiatur prima antiphona de nocte ad Memoriam Sancti Iohannis: Iohannes apostolus, et alie antiphone secundum ordinem. Versus: Valde honorandus. Oratio: Ecclesiam tuam. Sequatur processio ad altare Innocentium, cantando responsorium: Dignus a dignis, [p. 26] cum uersu; et regressu uersus ad placitum. Oratio: Deus qui licet. In reditu, de Sancta Maria antiphona uel responsorium ad placitum, ut prenotatur. Versus: Post partum. Oratio: Deus qui salutis, et cetera. Qua finita, pueri cum suo Episcopo ante maius altare cantantes ut supra notatur in die Sancti Stephani.

Ad Primam, Ymnus: Corde natus. Antiphona: Herodes iratus. Psalmus: Deus, in nomine, et cetera. Antiphona: Gratias.[1] Psalmus: Quicumque. Capitulum: Regi seculorum. Responsorium: Ihesu Xpiste. Alleluia, et cetera, ut supra.

Post Primam Benedictio Episcopi, ut supra. Sequatur Missa Matutina. Officium: Puer natus. Kyrieleyson et Gloria. Oratio: Concede, quesumus, omnipotens Deus. Memorie Sancte Marie, Sancti Stephani, et Sancti Johannis tantum. Epistola et Euangelium de secunda Missa

[1] A later hand has substituted, Te unum.

Natiuitatis. Cetera de Maiori Missa. Credo, Sanctus, et Agnus festiue. Si Dominica fuerit, sequatur Aque Benedictio, et post Tertiam aspergatur. Et post[ea] sequatur Processio, et sit de Natiuitate secundum suum ordinem, et pueri in capis sint in superiori parte, ut supra notatur in die Sancti Stephani.

Ad Tertiam, Ymnus: Corporis formam. Antiphona: A bymatu. Psalmus: Legem po[ne]. Capitulum: Vidi super montem. Responsorium. Letamini in Domino. Alleluia. Versus: Exultent. Oratio: Deus cuius hodierna.

Ad Missam, Officium. Omnes pueri in capis in medio chori regant chorum. Episcopus incipiat: Ex ore infantum. Psalmus: Domine, Dominus noster. Kyrieleyson et Gloria festiue. Oratio: Deus cuius hodierna. Epistola in cantu cum Prosa, ut supra: Vidi super montem. Graduale pueri, ut prenotatur: Anima nostra. Versus: Laqueus. Episcopus, cum eo omnes pueri in modum corone: Alleluia. Hi sunt qui cum. Sequentiam Episcopus incipiat: Celsa pueri. Euangelium in cantu: Angelus domini apparuit. Credo. Offertorium: Anima nostra, quod incipiatur ab Episcopo, et cetera omnia, ut supra. Deinde offerant omnes qui uoluerint, ut supra notatur. Secreta: Adesto, Domine, muneribus. Prefatio: Quia per incarnati. Sanctus festiue. Communicantes. Agnus festiue. Communio: Vox in rama. Post-Communio: Votiua, Domine.

Ad Sextam, Ymnus: Ecce quem uates. Antiphona: Vox in rama. Psalmus: Defecit. Capitulum: Ecce audiui. Responsorium: Exultent iusti. Alleluia. Versus: Iusti autem in perpetuum. Oratio: Deus cuius hodierna.

Ad Nonam, Ymnus: Iuste iudex. Antiphona: Cantabant sancti. Psalmus: Mirabilia. Capitulum: Et cantabant. Responsorium: Iusti autem in perpetuum. Versus: Mirabilis Deus. Oratio: Deus cuius hodierna

Ad Vesperas antiphone cum neumis finiantur. Antiphona: Tecum principium. Psalmus: Dixit Dominus, et cetera. Capitulum: Hi empti sunt. Dominus Episcopus, cum eo duo tunicati, responsorium: Iusti in perpetuum. Versus: Ideo accipient. Et cogitatio. Gloria laus, apud ymnum:[1] Sanctorum meritis, uel Letabundus. Versus: Letamini. Antiphona: O quam gloriosum. Psalmus: Magnificat. Et tamdiu cantetur: Deposuit potentes, quod baculus accipiatur qui accipere, uoluerit. Vespere finiantur a dietario, et cantor tradat tres cappas rubeas tribus de maioribus qui regant chorum. Oratio: Deus qui hodierna. Benedicamus Domino. Sequatur Memorie Natiuitatis Domini, Sancti Stephani, Sancti Iohannis, ut prenotatur. Postea sequatur Processio: Sancta et immaculata. Qua finita, redeant ad altare Sancti Thome Martyris, et incipiatur responsorium ab uno de regentibus chorum,

[1] MS, Ymnus.

responsorium: Igitur ductus est Thomas. *Tres regentes chorum uersum* [p. 27] *cantent ante altare:* Misertus. Versus: Posuisti. Oratio: Deus, pro cuius ecclesiam. *In reditu de Sancta Maria. Ad placitum* Benedicamus *tres pueri.*

Ad Completorium accendantur candelabra more triplici. Antiphona: Natus est nobis. Psalmus: Cum inuocarem, et cetera. Ymnus: Saluator mundi. Versus: Custodi nos. Antiphona: Verbum caro. Psalmus: Nunc dimittis, et cetera, *ut fieri solet.*

[OFFICIUM STELLAE][1]

[p. 34] *Officium Trium Regum secundum usum ecclesie Rothomagensis die Epyphanie.* Tertia *cantata, tres de maiore sede more regum induti, et debent esse scripti in tabula, ex tribus partibus ante altare conueniant cum suis famulis portantibus Regum oblationes induti tunicis et amictibus, et debent esse de secunda sede scripti in tabula ad placitum scriptoris. Ex*[2] *tribus Regibus medius ab oriente ueniens, stellam cum baculo ostendens, dicat alte:* Stella fulgore nimio.

Secundus Rex a dextra parte respondeat: Que regem regum.

Tertius Rex a sinistra parte dicat: Quem uenturum olim.

Tunc Magi ante altare sese osculentur, et simul cantent: Eamus et inquiramus.

Hoc finito, cantor incipiat responsorium: Magi ueniunt, *et moueat processio.* Versus: Cum natus. *Sequatur aliud* responsorium, *si necesse fuerit:* Interrogabat magos. *Processione in naui ecclesie constituta, stationem faciant. Dum autem processio nauem ecclesie intrare ceperit, corona ante altare Crucis pendens in modo stelle, Magi Stellam ostendentes ad ymaginem Sancte Marie super altare Crucis prius positam cantantes pergant:* Ecce stella[3] in oriente.

Hoc finito, duo de maiori sede cum dalmaticis ex utraque parte altaris stantes suauiter respondeant: Qui sunt hi qui stella.[4]

Magi respondeant: Nos sumus quos cernitis.

Tunc duo dalmaticati aperientes cortinam dica[n]t: Ecce puer adest.

Tunc procidentes Reges ad terram simul salutent Puerum, ita dicentes: Salue princeps seculorum.

Tunc unus a suo famulo aurum accipiat et dicat: Suscipe rex aurum,

et offerat. Secundus Rex ita dicat et offerat: Tolle thus uere.

Tercius dicat et offerat: Mirram, signum sepulture.

Iterum fiant oblationes a clero et populo. Tunc Magi[s] orantibus et quasi somno sopitis, quidam puer alba indutus et amictu super caput quasi Angelus in pulpito illis dicat hanc antiphonam: Impleta sunt que

[1] B. N. MS lat. 1213, pp. 34, 35. [2] MS, et. [3] MS, stellā. [4] MS, stellā.

prophetie, et cetera. *Hoc finito Reges recedant* per *alam ecclesie ante fontes*, et *intrent chorum per ostium sinistrum, et processio intret chorum sicut consuetum* est *in Dominicis, cantore incipiente hoc* responsorium: Tria sunt munera. *V*ersus: Salutis nostre auctor, *si necesse fuerit.*

Ad Missam tres Reges regant chorum, qui Kyrie, fons bonitatis, Alleluia, Sanctus, et Agnus *cantent. Officium:* Ecce aduenit. *P*salmus: Deus iudicium. Kyrieleyson et Gloria *festiue. Or*atio: Deus qui hodierna die. *Si Archiepiscopus cantauerit, Memorie pro Domino Papa* et *Rege tantum; sine autem* Alleluia *Memorie fia[n]t. Ep*istola: Surge illuminare. *Predicti famuli cantent Gr*aduale: Omnes de Sabba. *V*ersus: Surge illuminare. Alleluia. *V*ersus: Vidimus stellam. *Seq*uencia: Epyphaniam Domino. *Euang*elium: Cum natus esset Ihesus. *Credo. Off*ertorium: Reges Tharsis. *Deinde offerant Reges*, et *omnes qui uoluerint. Se*creta: Ecclesie tue, quesumus, Domine. *Pref*atio: [p. 35] Quia cum Unigenitus. Communicantes et diem. *C*ommunio: Vidimus stellam. *P*ost-*C*ommunio: Presta, quesumus, omnipotens Deus. *Pref*atio et Communi*cantes dicantur per octauam; etiam ad Missam Beate Marie.*

Ad Sextam, *Y*mnus: Ecce quem uates. *A*ntiphona: Apertis thesauris. *P*salmus: Defecit. *C*apitulum: Et ambulabunt gentes. *R*esponsorium: Reges Tharsis. Alleluia. *V*ersus: Adorate Dominum. *Or*atio: Deus qui hodierna die.

Ad Nonam, *Y*mnus: Iuste iudex. *A*ntiphona: Stella ista. *P*salmus: Mirabilis. *C*apitulum: Filii tui de longe. *R*esponsorium: Adorate Dominum. Alleluia. *V*ersus: Omnes gentes. *Or*atio: Deus qui hodierna die.

Ad Vesperas, *A*ntiphona: Tecum principium. *P*salmus: Dixit Dominus, et cetera, secundum *suum ordinem*. *C*apitulum: Inundatio camelorum. *R*esponsorium: In columbe specie. *V*ersus: Vox Domini. *Y*mnus: A patre Unigenitus, *uel* Letabundus. *V*ersus: Omnes de Sabba. *A*ntiphona: Ab oriente. *P*salmus: Magnificat. *Or*atio: Deus qui hodierna die. *Nulla memoria.*

Ad Completorium, *ut heri.*

[OFFICIUM SEPULCHRI][1]

[p. 86] . . . . *R*esponsorium:[2] Dum transisset sabbatum. *V*ersus: Et ualde. Ut uenientes. Gloria. Alleluia.

Finito tertio responsorio, *Officium Sepulchri ita celebratur. Tres diaconi de maiori sede, induti dalmaticis* et *amictus habentes super*

[1] B. N. MS lat. 1213, p. 86. This text has already been presented by C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (München, 1887), pp. 155–57. Certain obvious errors in Lange's text together with the desirability of giving the complete series of dramatic offices in MS 1213 will probably justify my offering a new text of this *Officium Sepulchri*.

[2] Third Respond of Easter Matins.

capita sua ad similitudinem mulierum, uascula tenentes in manibus ueniant per *medium chori*, et *uersus Sepulcrum*[1] *properantes uultibus submissis cantent pariter hunc* uersum: Quis reuoluet nobis lapidem?

Hoc finito, quidam puer quasi Angelus, indutus alba et amictus, tenens spicam in manu, ante Sepulcrum dicat: Quem queritis in sepulcro?

Marie respondeant: Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum.

Tunc Angelus dicat: Non est hic, surrexit enim,

Et locum digito ostendens. Hoc finito, Angelus citissime discedat, et *duo presbyteri de maiori sede in tunicis intus Sepulchrum residentes dicant:* Mulier, quid ploras?

Medius trium Mulierum respondeat, ita dicens: Quia tulerunt Dominum meum.

Duo residentes dicant: Quem queritis, mulieres?

Marie osculentur locum; postea exeant de Sepulcro. Interim quidam sacerdos de maiori sede in persona Domini, albatus cum stolla, tenens crucem obuians eis, in sinistro cornu altaris dicat: Mulier, quid ploras? Quem queris?

Medius Mulier[2] *dicat:* Domine, si sustulisti eum, dicito mihi.

Sacerdos illi crucem ostendens dicat: Maria!

Quod cum audierit, pedibus eius citissime[3] *sese offerat,* et *alta uoce dicat:* Raboni!

Sacerdos innuens manu dicat: Noli me tangere.

Hoc finito, sacerdos in dextro cornu altaris iterum appareat, et illis transeuntibus ante altare dicat: Auete, nolite timere.

Hoc finito, se abscondat, et Mulieres, hoc audito, lete inclinent ad altare, et *conuerse ad chorum hunc uersum cantent:* Alleluia, resurrexit Dominus,[3] alleluia.

Hoc finito, Dominus Archiepiscopus uel sacerdos ante altare cum turibulo incipiat alte: Te Deum laudamus, *et sine neuma finiatur.* Versus: Resurrexit Dominus uere. Deus *in adiutorium*[4] . . . .

[OFFICIUM PEREGRINORUM][5]

[p. 90] . . . . *Ad Vesperas,*[6] *sicut in die Pasce, duo de maioribus in capis*: Salue festa dies, *cum processione, ut* supra. Kyrieleyson, *ut* supra. Alleluia. *Psalmus*: Dixit Dominus. *Psalmus*: Confitebor, et cetera. *Duo de* secunda *sede regant chorum. Graduale*: Hec dies. *Versus*: *Dicant nunc Israel. Duo de maiori sede:* Alleluia. Nonne cor nostrum. *Versus*: Surrexit Dominus. *Antiphona*: Et coegerunt. *Psalmus*: Magnificat. *Oratio*: Deus qui hodierna die. *Duo de* secunda *sede:* Benedicamus Domino. Alleluia. *Nulla memoria nisi fuerit fe[sti], ut*

[1] MS, sepulcri.
[2] Lange, mulierum.
[3] Omitted by Lange.
[4] The beginning of Laudes.
[5] B. N. MS lat. 1213, p. 90.
[6] Vespers of Easter Monday.

supra. *Sequatur Processio ad Fontes, ut* supra. *Oratio:* Concede, quesumus, o[mnipotens] Deus. *In reditu:* Alleluia. *Psalmus:* In exitu, et cetera, *ut* supra.

Nota, Fili. Officium Peregrinorum debet hic fieri hoc modo. Duo de secunda *sede, qui sint scripti in tabula ad placitum scriptoris, induti tunicis* et *desuper capis, transuersum portantes baculos* et *peras in similitudinem Peregrinorum,* et *habeant capellos super capita,* et *sint barbati. Exeant de uestiario cantantes ymnum:* Ihesu, nostra redemptio. *Venientes lento pede per dextram alam ecclesie usque ad portas occidentales,* et *subsistent in capite processionis.* Et *cum cantauerint ymnum usque ad eum locum:* Nos tuo uultu saties, *tunc quidam sacerdos de maiori sede scriptus in tabula, indutus alba* et *amictus nudus pedes, ferens crucem super dextrum humerum, uultu demisso ueniens usque ad eos per dextram alam ecclesie* et *subito stet inter illos* et *dicat:* Qui sunt hi sermones?

Peregrini quasi admirantes et *eum respicientes dica[n]t:* Tu solus peregrinus es.

Sacerdos interroget: Que?

Peregrini respondeant: De Ihesu Nazareno.

Sacerdos utrimque respiciens dicat: O stulti *et* tardi corde.

Quibus dictis, statim recedens sacerdos fingens se longius ire, et *Peregrini festinantes prosequientes eum detineant quasi ad hospicium inuitantes et trahentes, baculis ostendentes Castellum,* et *dicentes:* Mane nobiscum.

Et ita cantantes ducant eum usque ad tabernaculum in medio nauis ecclesie in similitudinem Castelli Emaux preparatum. Quo cum ascenderint et ad mensam ibi paratam sederint, et *Dominus inter eos sedens panem eis fregerit,* et *fractione panis agnitus ab*[1] *illis, subito recedens ab oculis eorum euanescat. Illi autem quasi stupefacti surgentes, uersis uultibus inter ipsos cantent lamentabiliter:* Alleluia, *cum uersu:* Nonne cor nostrum. *Quo reiterato, uertent se uersus pulpitum* et *cante[n]t hunc uersum:* Dic nobis, *Maria.*

Tunc quidam de maiori sede indutus dalmatica et *amictu, in modum mulieris caput circumligatus, respondeat:*

Sepulcrum X*ρisti.*
Angelicos testes.

Tunc ostendat unam sindonem et *explicet ex una parte loco sudarii,* et *aliam ex alia parte loco uestium,* et *proiciat ante magnum ostium chori. Deinde dicat:* Su[r]rexit X*ρistus*

Chorus cantet alios duos uersus sequentes residuos, et interim receda[n]t Maria et *Peregrini; et processio, memoriis factis, redeat in choro,* et *ibi finiantur Vespere.*[2]

[1] MS, uel.

[2] The rubric, *Completorium,* follows immediately.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The following is a list, with some criticism, of the most important manuscripts and prints bearing upon the subject of the liturgico-dramatic offices of Rouen.

1. Rouen MS 384 (Y. 110), Ordinarium Rothomagense saec. xiv.
   a) *Officium Pastorum*, fol. 22^{r}–23^{r}, printed by Gasté, pp. 25–32.
   b) *Festum Asinorum*, fol. 33^{r}–35^{r}, printed by Gasté, pp. 4–20.
   c) *Officium Infantum*, fol. 28^{r}–28^{v}, extracts in Gasté, pp. 35, 36.
   d) *Officium Stellae*, fol. 38^{v}–39^{r}, printed by Gasté, pp. 49–52.
   e) *Officium Sepulchri*, fol. 82^{v}–83^{v}, printed by Gasté, pp. 58–62, and inaccurately presented by Lange, pp. 155–57, where some of the variants from this MS are appended to an inaccurate text from Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213.
   f) *Officium Peregrinorum*, fol. 86^{r}–86^{v}, printed by Gasté, pp. 65–68.

2. Rouen MS 382 (Y. 108), Ordinarium Rothomagense saec. xv.
   a) *Officium Pastorum*, fol. 23^{r}–24^{r}.
   b) *Officium Infantum*, fol. 28^{r}–29^{r}.
   c) *Festum Asinorum*, fol. 31^{v}–33^{r}.
   d) *Officium Stellae*, fol. 35^{v}–36^{r}.
   e) *Officium Sepulchri*, fol. 70 bis ^{v}–71^{r}.
   f) *Officium Peregrinorum*, fol. 73^{r}–73^{v}.

In printing the corresponding six texts from Rouen MS 384 (Y. 110) Gasté gives occasional variants from MS 382 (Y. 108), but by no means all of them. In assuming that MS 382 (Y. 108) is a copy of MS 384 (Y. 110) Gasté (p. 2) may be right; in which case the copyist departed at times rather widely from his model. See, for example, Gasté, p. 51, n. 1.

3. Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213, Ordinarium Rothomagense saec. xv.
   a) *Officium Pastorum*, pp. 17–18.
   b) *Officium Infantum*, pp. 25–27.
   c) *Officium Stellae*, pp. 34, 35.
   d) *Officium Sepulchri*, p. 86, printed by Lange, pp. 155–57.
   e) *Officium Peregrinorum*, pp. 90, 91.

These five texts are printed in the present article. Monsieur Pierre Aubry is certainly wrong in his assertion (*La musique et les musiciens d'église en Normandie au XIIIe siècle* [Paris, 1906], p. 27, n. 1) that this MS contains a text of the *Festum Asinorum*.

4. Montpellier MS H. 304, Miscellanea saec. xii.
   a) *Officium Pastorum*, fol. 41^{r}–41^{v}, printed above.
   b) *Officium Stellae* (incomplete), fol. 41^{v}–42^{v}, printed above. Extracts in Gasté, pp. 54–56.

5. Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 904, Graduale Rothomagense saec. xiii.
   a) *Officium Pastorum*, fol. 11v–12v, printed by E. de Coussemaker, *Les drames liturgiques du moyen âge* (Rennes, 1860), pp. 235–41.
   b) *Officium Stellae*, fol. 28v–30r, printed by Coussemaker, pp. 242–49.
   c) *Officium Sepulchri*, fol. 101v–102v, printed by Coussemaker, pp. 250–55; by G. Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern* (Wolfenbüttel, 1880), p. 133; and by Lange, pp. 155–57.
6. Rouen MS 222 (A. 551), Processionale Rothomagense saec. xiii.
   a) *Officium Stellae* (incomplete), fol. 4r–4v, printed above.
   b) *Officium Peregrinorum*, fol. 43r–45r, printed above.
7. Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1232, Ordo Romanus saec. xii.

At the back of this MS are inserted two folios in paper, numbered fol. 26 and 27. On fol. 26r–27r a hand of the seventeenth century has written a text of the *Festum Asinorum*, followed (fol. 27r) by the note, in the same hand, "Haec supra scripta deprompta fuerunt ex antiquo codice Rituali S. Rotom. Ecclesiae, in Festo Circumcisionis Domini." This text agrees exactly with the text of the *Festum Asinorum* in Rouen MS 384 (Y. 110).

8. The texts communicated in *Joannis Abrincensis Episcopi deinde Rotomagensis Archiepiscopi Liber De Officiis Ecclesiasticis, Notis D. Johannis Prevotii . . . . illustratus*, Rotomagi, 1679. (The reprint of this work by Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. CXLVII, is accurate in all the points in which I refer to it.)
   a) *Officium Infantum*, pp. 202–5 (Migne, CXLVII, 135, 136).
   b) *Officium Stellae*, pp. 206–10 (Migne, CXLVII, 135–40).
   c) *Officium Sepulchri*, pp. 211–15 (Migne, CXLVII, 139–42).

Regarding his sources Le Prévost writes at the head of his *Officium Infantum*, "Ex ordin. MS Bigot.;" at the head of each of the other two *officia* he writes, "Ex ordinario et libro offic. MSS: bibliothecae Bigotianae." Various misstatements have been current as to the identification of these MSS. Gasté suggested (pp. 3, 4) that Le Prévost took the music for the *Officium Stellae* and the *Officium Sepulchri* from the parallel texts in Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 904, and (p. 4, n. 2) that Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213 is "un des MSS. consultés par dom Jean Le Prévost . . . . pour les variantes qu'il a mises en manchettes." (Le Prévost's "side-notes" are faithfully preserved in square brackets in Migne's reprint.) Chambers (*Mediaeval Stage*, II, 45, n. 3), referring to Gasté, says that Le Prévost's *Officium Stellae* is "from B. N. 904 and B. N. lat. 1213." P. Aubry (*op. cit.*, p. 29, n. 1) squarely implies that the dramatic offices presented by Le Prévost are transcriptions from Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213.

I have compared Le Prévost's dramatic offices with the two Paris MSS mentioned by Gasté, Chambers, and Aubry, and I present the following results:

a) Le Prévost's texts are almost identical with the texts in Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213. His departures from this MS may be illustrated by the following comparison:

"Et moveat processio. Sequatur aliud responsorium si necesse fuerit" (Migne, CXLVII, 137).

"Et moveat processio, versus: *Cum natus.* Sequatur aliud responsorium si necesse fuerit" (MS 1213, p. 34).

b) In direct contradiction to Gasté's conjecture I must report that I do not find a single case in which Le Prévost's "variantes . . . . mises en manchettes" could have been taken from MS 1213. Nearly all (but not all) of Le Prévost's "side-notes" agree with readings found in B. N. MS lat. 904.

c) The melodies accompanying Le Prévost's texts agree exactly with the melodies that accompany the corresponding texts in B. N. MS lat. 904.

In view of these observations, and in view of the fact that Le Prévost's texts do not agree exactly with the Rouen MSS Y. 110, Y. 108, and 222 (A. 551), or with Montpellier MS H. 304, I believe that at present the exact source of his texts cannot be demonstrated.

9. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 7 Vols., Parisiis 1840–46.
   a) *Officium Pastorum*, V, 129. This text of Du Cange is the basis of the text given as "Rouen, XIV Century" by C. Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays* (New Haven, 1892), pp. 50–52, where, however, Du Cange is "amplified from Weinhold and Du Méril."
   b) *Festum Innocentium*, III, 960–61.
   c) *Festum Asinorum*, III, 255.
   d) *Officium Stellae*, VI, 367. I suppose that this text is the basis of the *Officium Regum Trium* given by Davidson, pp. 52–64.
   e) *Officium Sepulchri*, VI, 195.
   f) *Officium Peregrinorum*, V, 201.

The b), d), and e) of Du Cange do not agree with the corresponding texts communicated by Le Prévost, nor do the six texts agree exactly with any of the MSS discussed above. In each case, Du Cange says that his text is taken from an "Ordinarius MS," of Rouen. Petit de Julleville (*Les Mystères* [Paris, 1880], p. 37) says that the MS from which Du Cange printed his *Festum Asinorum* is lost. He adds that this last MS must have been written after 1350. P. Aubry (*op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 1) is certainly wrong in his assertion that Du Cange's text of the *Festum Asinorum* comes from Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 1213, p. 24.

10. E. Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, 4 Vols. (Antuerpiae, 1736–38).
   a) *Officium Pastorum*, III, 96.
   b) *Officium Stellae*, III, 122, 123.

The Rouen MSS used are not exactly indicated. These texts agree exactly neither with any of the MSS mentioned above nor with the corresponding texts of Du Cange. Martène's *Officium Stellae* agrees in part with the corresponding text of Le Prévost, and in part with the variants offered by Le Prévost.

11. E. Du Méril, *Les origines latines du théâtre moderne* (Paris, 1897).
   a) *Officium Peregrinorum*, pp. 117–20.
   b) *Officium Sepulchri*, pp. 96–98.
   c) *Officium Pastorum*, pp. 147–50.
   d) *Officium Stellae*, pp. 153–56.

The manuscript bases of these four texts are exceedingly uncertain. For a serious criticism of Du Méril's four texts see Gasté, pp. 2, 3. Cf. Petit de Julleville, I, pp. 26, n. 1, and 61, n. 1.

In discussing the liturgico-dramatic offices of Rouen, scholars would probably do well to refer, as far as possible, to more authoritative texts than those of Le Prévost, Du Cange, Martène, and Du Méril.

12. The complete disappearance of all Rouen *Troparia* is greatly to be deplored by students of mediaeval dramatic origins. That the Cathedral of Rouen formerly possessed *Troparia* is shown by inventories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See *Revue de l'Art Chretien*, 1886, pp. 456, 466.

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